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in front of the house. This is an innovation, for originally boiling was unknown to any of the Timbira, who probably cooked on the spit or in the ashes at the fires by their camp sites. Borrowed from the Neobrazilians along with the cooking pots, these fireplaces are always under the roof. Finally, there is the earth oven (kíyačą), invariably, whether in the village or in an encampment, several meters behind the dwelling and toward the open steppe except for certain special ceremonies, when it must be constructed in front of the houses, at the inner margin of the boulevard. When not in use, the oven appears as an ugly hodge-podge of rocks, dug-up earth, charred logs, leaves, and old mats. It is common to all Timbira tribes.

The fireplaces of the age classes in the plaza do not serve for the preparation of food.

If a fire should go out nowadays and there is no neighbor from whom one could borrow a brand, the Indians strike fire with the Neobrazilian strike-a-light consisting of the tip of a cow horn, steel, and flint, with charred cotton for tinder. However, everybody is still familiar with the old drill (rą'ra) composed of two urucú staves. The drill itself is about ½-m. long, somewhat less than a finger's breadth, and terminates in a blunt point. The hearth is about of the same length and somewhat thicker. The pit of the hearth has a lateral groove, which, however, is sometimes lacking. (Fig. 2.) The driller sits down and presses the hearth against the ground with his feet (pl. 5, *c*). On trips to the plantations or to catch fish in the brook at night it is customary to take along firebrands.

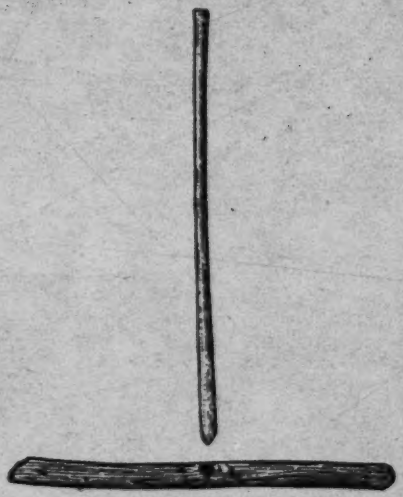

Fig. 2. Fire drill. ⅛ nat. size.

For blowing the fire into a flame the Indians use a fire fan (kapẽ'rčą), that is, a quadrangular or hexagonal little mat of babassu, anajá, or bacaba palm grass (pl. 12, *a*). Occasionally it may also serve as a seat, for shoveling away offal, or for covering a pot.

It is the women's duty to fetch firewood, and usually one will invite another to join her. But should there be a large, dry log that is too heavy, a man will often do the carrying.

The origin of fire is explained in a myth which I have recorded with only minor variations among the Rąmkõ'kąmekra, Krẽyé of Bacabal, Apinayé, and Šerénte.[125]

Special structures.—Apart from ceremonial huts, which are always removed after the festive season, I observed the following structures in Ponto. Somewhat behind and on one side of the house inhabited by the widowed chief Kukrãčą' and his kinswomen there stood under a roof (fornyũkwa; from Portuguese *forno*, roasting pan) a huge copper roasting pan for the preparation of manioc flour; it rested on four wooden legs driven into the ground. The chief had received it as a gift from an Indian friend some twenty-five years ago. It was used by all the villagers, who in return gave the chief some of the flour they prepared. In Pedra

[125] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 154 *et seq.*, 1939.

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Branca (pl. 1, *a*) the Krahõ′ had a similar hut, which stood about three hundred meters behind the circle of houses.

Several Indians engaged in pig breeding had erected well-built roofs 2 m. square under which the beasts could sleep in bad weather if they so chose; they were not forcibly enclosed there. The tame taitetú pigs always used for ceremonial slaughter at certain festivities are kept in cages 1 m. high, which the owners generally put up in front of their houses, at the inner margin of the boulevard. A cage consists of upright poles roofed with palm fronds.

The few Indians who raise fowls keep them behind the dwelling in little gable roofs resting directly on the ground and constructed of poles, pieces of bark, and old mats. At night they are barred with pieces of wood. The structure, like the poultry itself, was borrowed from the Neobrazilians.

The exceptional little stall for strangers which the Apę′nyekra put up in Porquinhos has been mentioned (p. 40). No Timbira tribe has a men's or bachelors' house corresponding to the warã of the Akwẽ-Seréntе.[28] Meetings are held in the plaza outdoors, which is also the general sleeping place of the young men.

Away from the village the Rąmkõ′kamekra, so far as they require any form of shelter, erect the following forms of hut. If the cultivated plots are far away, a hut is put up for the period that requires the owners' presence. Such a structure is not erected in the plantation itself, but in the steppe in front of the *galeria* forest. Usually it is rectangular and gable-roofed, smaller and less massive than the fixed dwellings. However, occasionally the old beehive type (ikré yiróno) occurs—a hemispherical form about 1.80 m. in height inside. The framework consists of eight or more thin trunks stuck into the ground in a circle and bent together at the top, the branches being interlaced into walls, or—rarely—tied together. There are no special horizontal hoops. This skeleton is covered round about with palm fronds, their tips up, their ribs in vertical position; other fronds are laid on top crisscross. This shelter, if carefully set up, is altogether rainproof except for some leakage at the bottom. On one side there is left an entrance 1½ m. in height.

Similar, but as a rule less carefully built, are the huts of temporary encampments, such as all the steppe Timbira erect when large companies of them are hunting or away for some special task. In that case the arrangement of the huts is uniformly circular, all doors facing the center, and the female owners observe the same order that prevails in the village. These huts are made exclusively by the women; even men who camp beyond the settlement without their families never erect such structures (pl. 7, *a*).

The question now arises: Did the Timbira originally have only such beehive huts or did they have larger, substantial dwellings in their fixed villages? Several facts support the latter alternative. The beehive huts cannot accommodate either the regular platform beds or the elevated compartments of the young girls, or an extended family. Further, it would be impossible to shelter the boys in a single house on the east or west side during the first stage of initiation, for even in 1930 there were twice sixteen novices among the Rąmkõ′kamekra, and the number was doubtless larger in former times. It would be equally impossible to put up a special cell in a beehive hut for one or more boys at the terminal phase of initiation. Moreover, a beehive hut could not serve as the meeting place of any of the festive societies, with their membership ranging from 15 to 30; and to an even greater extent does the vų′tę′ institution (p. 92) require large houses, for in 1933 the number of men who assembled was 54 and 57, respectively. I am convinced that if all these cere-

[28] Nimuendajú and Lowie, 408.

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The catcher next ran to the house of the western pepyé girl, led her out, took her to the plaza, and then brought her back to her home; he followed the same procedure with the eastern girl. Then he brought into seclusion the deputy commandant and finally the two errand boys.

Not until the following morning, when the age classes had assumed their appropriate stations in the plaza, did the council designate the chief commandant, whom the catcher seized and, as with the others, led to a bedstead in his mother's home. To date the pepyé, exclusive of the catcher, numbered thirty-eight.

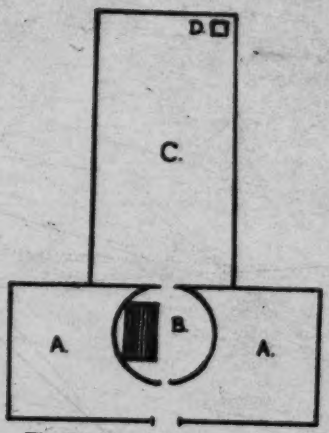

Fig. 13. Pepyé internment. A, living rooms; B, seclusion hut; C, yard; D, latrine.

Internment cells; life in seclusion.—The following morning the men in the plaza grouped themselves according to menkąčą, that is, by the dichotomy of the six plaza divisions (p. 87). Each group was to prepare the retreat for members who were pepyé.

As stated, all pepyé were interned in their maternal homes except for the eastern leader (p. 182). In each house a beehive-shaped hut (ikrére), about 3 m. in diameter and 2 m. high, was put up directly at the rear wall (fig. 13; pl. 34). This cell (fig. 13, *b*) had an anterior door barely 30 cm. in height and closed by a mat from within. The furniture was limited to a bedstead ½-m. high and one or two mats. Behind this cell and the rear wall of the house was a courtyard, kwęk, 5 by 10 m., fenced off to a considerable height with poles and anajá palm fronds. A tiny opening, barely sufficing for the interne to crawl through, connected yard and cell. In one of the outermost nooks of the yard was the latrine (ikwįrčą)—a pit ¾-m. in depth, covered except for a slit with billets of wood, a mat laid across the slit completing the closure.

As soon as the preparations were completed every pepyé exchanged his resting place on the bedstead of his mother's house for the cell, which was occupied singly or by more individuals, according to the number of pepyé in each house. In Hąktokót's wife's house four persons were interned, including one of the girls.

Henceforth the pepyé remained invisible to their fellow villagers, staying in their cells from April 22 until June 14. They were as inactive as possible. Twice every day, at least, their kinswomen slipped ample food through the miniature front door of the cell. For the time being they were not allowed to bathe or to kindle a fire, though the nights happened to be rather cold then; they were to make shift with a minimum of sleep, were to be neither seen nor heard by anyone; their hair was not cut, and their bodies remained unpainted. They were forbidden to scratch themselves with their fingernails, substituting neatly carved rods (amnyikarẽ'nčą) of miniature sword-club shape, which they usually carried behind their ears (pl. 35, *b*).

Only fellow novices—and even then only clandestinely at night—may enter a pepyé's cell. There is only one exception: since all intercourse with the outside world is effected through the errand boys, these have free access at all hours both to the cells and to the sitting rooms of the house. This statement at least defines the ideal conduct, to which many pepyé rigidly conformed, though others were guilty of frequent transgressions.

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January 1929, I found that the festival was over. I discovered only a single small mask, the rest having been destroyed in order to make the constituent parts fit for other uses. The specimen corresponded to the tõhokpó of the Canella, but the vertical line beside the black rectangles of the eyes was red. In the rear the place of fish figures was taken by glued-on feathers, black in the middle and red toward the sides.

The Krahõ′ whom I visited in their villages on the Manoel Alves Pequeño (1930) told me about their dance costumes and at my request manufactured one, which corresponded to none of the Rąmkõ′kamekra types. The front mask was strikingly narrow, being only about 20 cm. in width. The eyes consisted of large red triangles with a black center; the bases were coterminous with the lower edge of the mat. There were brush-shaped (*pinselförmige*) ears, and the very thin horns extended not over the tips of the transverse bar but rather toward the center.

Most of all did the Araparytína Timbira masks diverge from the Rąmkõ′kamekra type, though the last samples, which I saw on the upper Gurupy in 1914 in very poor condition, bore an equivalent designation (ku′xid = kõkrį′t). Like the Kayapó and Karayá masks, these were high, more or less cylindrical headdresses with a fringe hanging down from the lower margin. There were traces indicating that feathers had been glued on. On top there were still two thin, almost parallel horns ½-m. in length.

Initial steps.—The society itself, I learned, had taken the initiative in stimulating the performance of 1924. Its leader, no longer living, had summoned the members to their assembly house on the west side of the village and asked whether they were unanimously in favor of the undertaking. On an affirmative reply he announced the decision to the councilors in the plaza, who gave their consent.

In 1935 the younger generation, above all the põhįtíkama headed by Kapẽrtúk, had decided to hold the tepyarkwá, but the elders substituted the kõkrįthõ′ despite Kapẽrtúk's manifest displeasure and his inclination to offer passive resistance, which, however, was of brief duration and not seriously meant.

As soon as the Mummers' festival is definitely decided on, the two societies invariably collaborating with the kõkrį′t also assemble in their respective meeting places: the Agoutis in the maternal house of the eastern vų′tę′; the Jaguars, led by their headman, the Black Jaguar, in the western vų′tę′ house. Thereupon all three societies each choose two girls as mekuičwę′i for the festive period (pl. 37, *c*).

Making of costumes.—Now the kõkrį′t erect a shed by a brook near an adequate number of burity palms yielding the raw material, and there they work daily at manufacturing the masks (pls. 37, *a*, *b*; 38, *a*). In 1935 this hut, a rather carelessly built gabled rancho, was two kilometers south of the aldea and upstream. As it hardly rains at this season, no pains were taken to provide adequate covering, a thin layer of palm grass that afforded protection from the sun being deemed sufficient. Mostly the members worked outside in the scant shade of the steppe trees. Nonmembers were not exactly forbidden to approach, but their presence without urgent cause, from sheer curiosity, is held improper. Except for the two girl associates, who customarily attend during the day, women are never to be seen there.

Since this work does not form the members' only occupation it consumes over a month, during which time they do not take part in log races and refrain from painting themselves with urucú for fear of soiling the material. Lacking special reasons to the contrary, the Mummers, before attacking their daily labors, join the Jaguars and Agoutis for the following performance.

Jaguar and Agouti play.—Shortly before sunrise, just after the regular morning dance in the plaza, the three societies depart for a bathing hole on the Santo

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343

a

b

c

HUTS OF SECLUSION OF PEPYÉ

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1948 SOS Timbira SOS

343
535
575

a

b

MUMMERS' SHED; MUMMERS' DANCE AROUND ASSOCIATES

/49 cont./

123 521 [411] [237] → The solemn silence which had prevailed at first was soon disrupted by lively chatter. The conversation between me and the chief was interrupted. Every object that I had with me was discussed in detail. I was questioned about their names and use.

Arrow types, opposed feathering. 1/2 nat. size.

From time to time a modest, or usually immodest wish was espressed to possess this or that. Then the conversation faltered again and I gained time to look around a little.

285 My admiration was aroused above all by the extremely well-plaited buriti mats and the different kinds of small baskets and decorated implements with plaiting around them, especially musical instruments and club-like staffs.

123 [142] [535] Unfortunately the pressure of time and an unmistakable mistrust stamped on the faces of my hosts did not permit more detailed notes.

Canella Indians in dance adornment.

126 [343] [252] [593] My wish to obtain photographs met with general understanding to be sure, but encountered such energetic resistance on the part of the wife of the chief, who with a few old women in an adjacent open hut, the kitchen, was devoting herself busily to the making of manioc flour.